RECENT DISPATCHES FROM COMRADES IN GERMANY, 2024–25

letters from alleged former Red Army Faction members Daniela Klette and Martin (Burkhard Garweg)

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Recent Dispatches from Comrades in Germany, 2024–25:
Letters from alleged former RAF members Daniela Klette
and Burkhard (Martin) Garweg

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Recent Dispatches from Comrades in Germany, 2024–25

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KERSPLEBEDEB
2025

Introduction

By the time Daniela Klette, Burkhard Garweg, and Volker Staub ended up on wanted posters, the group they were accused of belonging to—the Red Army Faction—had been in existence for over two decades. The RAF was a clandestine organization that had waged armed struggle throughout the 1970s and 1980s in order to create an anti-imperialist pole of resistance in West Germany, as the country was known at the time. Several members died in the course of the struggle, and dozens of guerrillas and their supporters served lengthy prison terms.

It is alleged that Daniela, Burkhard, and Volker were active in the group in its final years, the 1990s. Daniela was captured in 2024, and Burkhard is now the focus of a newly energized manhunt. We have produced this document to inform comrades in the English-speaking world of their situation and politics.

First some context: The years in which Daniela, Burkhard, and Volker are alleged to have been active were the years in which the RAF de-escalated its conflict with the state, unilaterally announcing, on April 10, 1992, that it would no longer carry out the kind of "lethal actions targeting the leaders of the state and economy" that had become its hallmark in the 1980s. In 1991, the RAF strafed the United States embassy with submachinegun fire in protest against the first Iraq war; in 1993, it bombed a new prison just as construction was nearing completion, doing over $80 million in damage and delaying its opening by four years. In 1994, the state sprang a trap, using an infiltrator it had managed to position close to the RAF (a first in the group's history): Wolfgang Grams was killed—according to eyewitnesses he was shot dead after being immobilized—and Birgit Hogefeld was captured (she received three life sentences and was released from prison in 2011). The RAF would never carry out another action. Following a series of acrimonious public debates with the broader far left, the group fell silent, only to release a document announcing its dissolution in 1998.

The 1990s were a decade of rapid change, as the world was twisted into a new shape by the force of the vacuum left when the Soviet Union imploded. This was perhaps nowhere more true than in the new Germany

that emerged from the combination of two states that had symbolized the standoff between imperialism and "real existing socialism" since the end of World War II: the Federal Republic of Germany and the German Democratic Republic. West Germany and East Germany: the latter being absorbed into the former a year after the Berlin Wall was torn down by angry protesters on November 9, 1989, the slogan "we are the people" melting into "we are one people."

As well as German reunification (long thought impossible by all but the far right), the 1990s witnessed the first crest of a new grassroots racism emboldened by these changed circumstances, heightened violence against migrants, the NATO war on Yugoslavia, and the start of a new cycle of imperialist wars against the peoples of the Middle East—and, of course, the introduction of the Internet and the beginnings of what would be the complete transformation of everyday culture, including the nature of political organizing. Just as today, in 2025, we see a new sequence of struggles and challenges taking form, we can also recognize that our present context is very much the culmination of dynamics set in motion in that first decade of what one court jester tried to pass off as the "end of history."

It is in our current context—global contradictions surpassing the bounds of what can be managed in the old ways, the rise of the AfD in Germany and of the far right internationally, a Zionist genocide in the Middle East, war in Europe, climate disaster—that Daniela Klette has been captured.

In recent years, there were fresh news reports and wanted posters, as police claimed they had found DNA from the alleged RAF fugitives at the scene of various robberies in the 2000s and 2010s. Indeed, in the media/police narrative, the three were linked to a whole series of successful expropriations, several of which involved threatening armored cars with a rocket launcher before making off with the haul. All kinds of unsolved robberies were being blamed on what one wit dubbed the "Red Army Faction pensioners."

When Daniela was captured, however, it was not the result of a robbery gone wrong. Rather, in 2023, an ARD television podcast decided that tracking her down might be good for ratings. They consulted with Michael

Colborne, a Canadian journalist from Bellingcat, a website run by digital investigators. "I strongly recommend that you follow this lead," Colborne told them after feeding Daniela's old picture from the police wanted poster into the PimEyes face search engine. They had identified Daniela, but were unable to find her, producing an episode framed as a mysterious "failed" investigation. And so it came to pass that some wannabe sleuths who were barely out of diapers when the RAF carried out its last action played a key role in capturing the woman accused of being one of its final members. They produced their show, and a few months later the police, allegedly responding to an anonymous tip as to her whereabouts, moved in to carry out their arrest.

Daniela Klette was captured on February 26, 2024. The apartment building she had been living in was raided, with news reports about dangerous weapons on the premises necessitating the evacuation of the residents. Realizing the police were outside her door, she managed to send a quick text message before disposing of her phone's sim card; Burkhard was long gone before police raided the alternative caravan park he had been living in and working at as a caretaker. For the first two months, Daniela was held in a cell constantly under video surveillance and was kept isolated from other prisoners. She was initially charged with participation in thirteen robberies committed between 1999 and 2016 and "attempted murder" (a cash transport vehicle driver was allegedly shot at). A separate trial is being prepared for her based on charges stemming from RAF actions prior to the group's dissolution.

Dozens of people have been subpoenaed to appear as witnesses and provide information about the whereabouts of Burkhard and Volker, threatened with fines and coercive detention if they do not comply. This includes a number of former RAF members, people accused of being friends with former RAF members, and former residents of the Hafenstrasse squat in Hamburg in the 1980s, when Burkhard had lived there. Some of those who have refused to answer questions have been fined 500 euros.

The state has targeted a number of former RAF members since the group disbanded, trying to dredge up new charges for actions the group carried out when it was active, often actions that other people have already

served years or decades in prison for. The fact that the RAF was active for so long and was never defeated but instead chose to disband, and that most former members have refused to recant or to provide information, sets a precedent that is dangerous to those in power. It is an example they have long hoped to snuff out. Similar to the prosecution of elderly former militants in other countries for actions long past, the goal is to stamp out the memory of a certain kind of resistance, lest it become a factor once again as contradictions unfold and the capitalist edifice crumbles ever more.

We are presenting here a letter from prison by Daniela that was read by actor Rolf Becker at the thirtieth International Rosa Luxemburg Congress in Berlin, on January 11, 2025. We are also presenting a letter by Burkhard that late last year was delivered to the *taz*, a progressive newspaper with its origins in the 1970s radical left, by an attorney acting on his behalf. All footnotes are additions by the translators.

For more reports on this case in German: www.political-prisoners.net

For some documents from the RAF and about former members in recent years, see the website www.germanguerilla.com

The most extensive online collection of documents by or related to the RAF can be found at https://socialhistoryportal.org/raf

To learn more about the Red Army Faction in the 1970s and 1980s, see J. Smith and André Moncourt, *The Red Army Faction: A Documentary History*, Volumes I (Projectiles for the People) and II (Dancing with Imperialism), Kersplebedeb and PM Press, Montreal and Oakland, 2009 and 2013.

Daniela reads English,Spanish, Portuguese, and, of course, German. Mail takes about a month to reach her and cannot include any enclosures such as flyers or newspaper articles. You can write to her at:

Daniela Klette
JVA für Frauen
An der Propstei 10
49377 Vechta
Germany

A Letter from Daniela

Dear attendees of the Rosa Luxemburg Conference—
Dear comrades,

I greet you today from the prison in Vechta. Almost a year ago, after decades of living underground, I was arrested. Before me lie several years of trials, in which I am accused of participating in armed expropriations. Additionally, the judiciary is pursuing another trial against me, in which I am to be accused of participating in urban guerrilla actions against capitalism and imperialism.

I was 17 when the Vietnamese liberation struggle defeated U.S.-led imperialism. That incredible victory was achieved with global solidarity—despite napalm, despite the massive military machine that stood against the liberation movement, and despite the massacres of the Vietnamese population committed by the U.S. military with the assistance and complicity of the West, especially Germany.

I was 16 when I learned of the murder of a man in custody, who was on hunger strike against the torture of isolation detention. This was Holger Meins, who had taken a stand against the system and was killed in prison through deliberate malnutrition and the denial of medical care during state-ordered force feeding.*

It was a time of attempts at liberation and anti-colonial struggles in many countries: for example, the Black Panthers against racist oppression and for revolution in the U.S., the fight against apartheid in South Africa, or the FSLN in Nicaragua against the dictatorship there. I began to understand what humanity can expect from capitalism and imperialism. Yes, I saw myself as part of the global movements fighting for liberation from exploitation and oppression, against capitalism and patriarchy, and against war and militarism.

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* Holger Meins was the first of a number of captured Red Army Faction members to die in prison. He died on November 9, 1974, as Klette describes, as a direct result of medical malfeasance in an effort to break a hunger strike of prisoners from the RAF.

The legal system is now deliberating as to my guilt in a legal sense. For me, it is not a question of guilt but of what has mobilized and continues to mobilize millions of people: How do we overcome the global conditions that produce war, displacement, exploitation, patriarchal and racist oppression, poverty, and total ecological destruction?

The powerful are preparing for the great war to preserve their power. Society is marked by growing poverty, militarization, and a drift to the right. Capitalism is heading toward ecological disaster. The state of the world today makes it unmistakably clear that the questions about how to overcome these conditions were justified and remain necessary. These questions are for all of us, and we can only answer them collectively and through large-scale movements. I wish I could be with you to work on these questions together. But repression and the state's determination to condemn the history of fundamental opposition prevent such a thing.

No one who is imprisoned as part of the liberatory and revolutionary left is incarcerated simply because of their alleged or actual deeds. We are all imprisoned due to the state's intent to delegitimize the history of revolutionary struggles and to deter future struggles by condemning us to years of suffering in prison. This applies to me as much as it does to Mumia Abu-Jamal and Leonard Peltier in the U.S., the imprisoned anarchists in Greece—Marianna, Dimitri, Nikos, Dimitra—and many other political prisoners worldwide.

In this sense, the trial against me is a trial against an emancipatory, radical left, and anti-capitalist opposition.

I would greatly appreciate it if those who are able would attend my trial, which will begin soon—to show that this is not just a trial against me, but on another level, is a trial against everyone who engages with the question of overcoming capitalism. I would deeply appreciate any solidarity!

I wish you much success and, yes, I also hope you have much joy at this year's Rosa Luxemburg Conference!

With solidarity, a fighting spirit, and warm regards to you all,

D. K.

Greetings from the Underground

Martin (Burkhard Garweg), December 2024

To family, friends, comrades, allies, and the caravan park residents. To anyone who wants to engage with me and with our point of view.

Legal, illegal, who gives a shit? On February 26 of this year, Daniela Klette was arrested in Berlin. Journalists who offered their services as auxiliary police, helping to expand the increasingly authoritarian state into a state and citizens' community of investigators and informers, used AI technology to track down images of Daniela on the Internet. The historic assistance of these podcast journalist denunciators provided timely support for biometric controls using facial recognition as a new step toward totalitarian state control.*

The subsequent police manhunt for Volker Staub and me has consistently been characterized by lies and scaremongering. The police and the bourgeois media claim that we are violent criminals and terrorists who would kill for money without batting an eye. The building where Daniela lived and neighbouring buildings were evacuated, with claims about dangerous explosives, setting in motion measures, including psychological warfare operations, to mobilize popular support behind the manhunt. It has since been established that both the grenade and the rocket launcher that were found were dummies, which the police must have known all along. The purpose of the entire operation, which lasted several days, was to mislead and manipulate the public.

The constant propaganda about our violent proclivities and the danger we pose, the military-style searches of homes and caravan parks, involving police armed with military weaponry and armored vehicles, as if a war had broken out, the raids and arrests, all accompanied by carefully crafted

* German privacy laws currently forbid the police from using the kind of facial recognition technology employed by Bellingcat and the ARD podcasters to identify Klette. The police and right-wing political parties are trying to get these protections removed and are citing Klette's case as an example of why such technology should be permitted.

images, serves no purpose but to establish the necessity for a militarized police force and to set the stage to mobilize widespread popular support for the manhunts.

Above all, however, the goal behind creating an image of violent criminals is to depoliticize and undermine the history of fundamental opposition—the history of attempts to gain freedom from the violent conditions of capitalism that emerged from the resistance of the (19)68 movement and that were linked to revolutionary and anti-colonial struggles throughout the world.

The urban guerrilla project in the form of the RAF ended twenty-six years ago. However, for those of us being pursued as RAF militants, life underground did not end. An effort has been made to craft an image of us as a violent marauding band of thieves who pose a danger to the general public and who are also prepared to kill—merely for money. For us, however, it is out of the question to use violence that could kill or physically injure people simply for money. While traumatizing the employees of money exchanges or armored car companies is regrettable, there is no reason to believe anything the police or judicial apparatus are saying. Their sole objective is to delegitimize fundamental opposition and create a climate in which state violence and repression seem justified.

> Violence is the foundation of bourgeois society: in the misery of its penal system, in the ghettos at the margins of daily bourgeois life, in the militarization of "internal security," in the relationships of exploitation.
> (Peter Brückner, 1976)

State violence affects many people—the poor, the exploited, the marginalized. It is directed against those who protest or resist this normalized state of affairs, refusing to accept it as a given. These are the people who demonstrate against the genocide in Gaza and a German government that supplies weapons for it, and who, as a consequence, are subjected to different forms of authoritarian violence: police batons, imprisonment, legal threats, threats of deportation, loss of employment, and police surveillance, or whose demonstrations are simply banned altogether. They are the ones who occupy universities and are violently beaten by the police. They are

the people who speak up at pro-Palestine events and, as a consequence, are banned from entering the country. They are the artists, writers, and academics from around the world whose exhibitions, lectures, and events are cancelled because they have the "wrong" opinion. This includes the Jewish activists who are branded as antisemitic because they are not representative of the German raison d'état and who are, as a consequence, subjected to the real antisemitism of those in power.

It is those who have taken to the streets to demonstrate against the destruction of all life on the planet by capitalism and who are, as a consequence, declared terrorists and sentenced to prison. It is those who are driven from their villages because energy companies want to profit from the development of fossil fuels. It is those who oppose this capitalist superexploitation and the accompanying destruction of the climate. It is those who oppose the corporate bulldozers and find themselves at the receiving end of police violence for doing so. It is those in the Global South who are being forced to flee their homes by the millions, because the capitalist system, which guarantees corporate profits with police truncheons in the metropole, is leaving entire regions of the world devastated and uninhabitable.

It is those who recognized that the state instrumentalized Covid to take further steps to develop an authoritarian state and who are being denounced for this. It is the antifa who resist fascism and Nazis and who are, as a consequence, threatened by the police and the judiciary, forced underground or locked up in prisons. It is the comrades who organize against the oppression of Kurds, who oppose the madness that arises from the wars initiated by Western states, who resist ISIS, and who stand in solidarity with liberation from patriarchal structures and for democratic confederalism in Kurdistan. For this they are prosecuted as PKK members by the German judiciary and locked up for years in prison.

They are the ones accused of opposing militarism and the regime of racist deportations as K.O.M.I.T.E.E.* and who as a result have been per-

* A German guerrilla group active in the late 1980s and early 1990s. It carried out actions around a number of issues, including support for migrants and the PKK (Kurdistan Workers' Party) and opposition to German militarism.

secuted by the legal system and forced into exile for close to thirty years. It is all those in Berlin who have been evicted in recent years—Syndikat, Liebig 34, Mutiny, Potse-Drugstore, Köpi Wagenplatz—and who have been subjected to police terror and displacement for the profits of criminal speculators and to prevent the utopia of collective living based on solidarity. It is those who can no longer afford their rent and who are being evicted by the police.

It is those who, in the midst of opulence, experience daily displacement and are forced to live in tents or under bridges. It is those who know that, at a time when the masses can no longer afford rent, they have all the moral right in the world to simply appropriate and squat houses and reject the property laws of the few—and who are then ground down by the police and the justice system for doing so. It is the masses facing precarious employment, who have to sell their labor cheaply, and who are squeezed dry from sun up to sundown for wages that barely suffice to subsist on.

It is those who are locked away in solitary confinement in prisons or closed psychiatric wards, in spite of solitary confinement being recognized as clean torture and as a violation of international law. It is those who are threatened daily by the racism of the German police; for example, Oury Jalloh, who was burned alive in the Dessau police station, bound hand and foot, completely unable to move, because he was Black. It is the refugee teenager Mouhamed Dramé, who died in a hail of machine gun bullets at the hands of the Dortmund police, even though he never posed the slightest threat to his murderers. It is the sixteen-year-old unarmed teenager Halim Dener, who was shot in the back and killed by a police officer because he put up a poster supporting the Kurdish liberation movement. It is the people who, because they came from migrant families, were murdered by the National Socialist Underground*—which functioned for years unhindered

* The National Socialist Underground was a neo-Nazi organization with three known members: Uwe Mundlos, Uwe Bönhardt, and Beate Zschäpe. Active from 2001 to 2010, the organization killed at least ten people—eight Turkish and one Greek immigrant, and a German policewoman—as well carrying out a number of bombings and bank robberies. Discovered by police following a bank robbery on

and free from state persecution, and which had proven ties to the German secret services.

It is those who are forced to migrate due to wars, climate collapse, and poverty, and who drown by the thousands in the Mediterranean, turned away at German and EU borders, or end up in prison awaiting deportation. It is the thousands in the former Yugoslavia whose lives were snuffed out by NATO bombers, ordered and launched by the German government, which, all the while, grotesquely twisted and abused the battle cry "Never again Auschwitz." It is the 141 people who were murdered in cold blood by NATO bombs in Afghanistan—on the orders of German Bundeswehr soldier Klein, who had been informed by the U.S. military that the people in question were civilians, and who was promoted to the rank of general by the German government as a result.

It is the tens of thousands or more who can no longer cope and who flee into drug addiction or commit suicide. It is all those who oppose war, who oppose the normalized fascist drift and militarization of the capitalist state. It is those who do not want to simply accept all of this. It is those who fight back. It is those who do not resign themselves but who stand up for a world free of domination, with no above and no below, with no police or military violence to protect those at the top from those at the bottom.

These are the countless people who could tell you a thing or two about the true conditions of violence in the capitalist system.

November 4, 2011, Mondlos and Bönhardt committed suicide rather than face arrest. Accompanied by a lawyer, Zschäpe turned herself in to the police on November 8, 2011. Following a lengthy trial, on July 11, 2018, Zshäpe was found guilty of ten murders, arson, and membership in a terrorist organization and was sentenced to a minimum of fifteen years in prison. The group had managed to remain active for so long due to racist policing, the cops having been more interested in investigating the victims than the possibility that they had been targeted by the far right. See Elke Sanders interviewed by Liz Fekete, "The continuing scandal of the National Socialist Underground," January 23, 2014, Institute of Race Relations, https://irr.org.uk/article/the-continuing-scandal-of-the-national-socialist-underground/.

It is the apologists for capitalism who have a shared interest—that no alternative to capitalism arise—who especially like to talk about the alleged violence of those who rebel, wherever they are in the world, those whose grief and anger turns into collective resistance. However, they almost never talk about their own violence—the structural and brutal violence of the capitalist system.

This is the violence that should be talked about.

"The Structural Violence of Capitalism— Revolutionary Self-Defence—Liberation"

As part of the revolutionary left, we were—I would say: we are—convinced that a system based on violence is illegitimate, and that it can be overcome and freedom can be achieved. We abhor all forms of violence and long for a world that is not based on violence, death, and misery. We once set out to contribute to putting an end to the violence of capitalism—the domination of humans by humans, exploitation, militarism, and war—and to create a different social reality. We were part of the history of those who rebelled for human emancipation, freedom, and self-determination.

It was our assumption that anyone who poses the question of a nonviolent society that is not organized around profit for the few, the division of people into Black and white, rich and poor, and men and women, will inevitably have to confront the question of the structural violence of the system, revolutionary countermovement, and revolutionary self-defence.

"The Military Action of the State Security Apparatus Targeting Us in the Context of the Crisis"

The military action targeting us is taking place in the context of the present social development, with the question of an anti-capitalist alternative to the system having resurfaced. Therefore, any thought of and any history of fundamental opposition to the capitalist and imperialist system must be discredited. The capitalist system has fallen into a far-reaching and all-encompassing crisis. Its potential for growth, which is existentially

necessary for its survival, is reaching its limit. The current consequences will continue to snowball: poverty, mass layoffs, and the dismantling of state welfare programs.

The top ten thousand will not bear the brunt of this crisis—those at the bottom will: the elderly, whose pensions are not enough to live on; those dependent on state social benefits, for whom rising food prices are becoming an existential problem; those who will no longer be able to afford their homes; those who must take on ever more precarious jobs to survive; the unemployed, who are to be disciplined with every new tightening of the job centre system; the junkies; the young people (especially in the poorer districts); those affected by violence and many others who are seeing the spaces where they had received support and could meet being closed down.

Politicians and the police like to talk about migrant clans as if they are the problem facing society. They never talk, however, about the clans of the Hohenzollerns or the Quants, even though, with their immense wealth and the way it is distributed, they represent and are in no small way responsible for the insanity of capitalism. Worldwide, the richest 85 people own as much wealth as the 3.5 billion poorest people.

"Fear, Force, and Discipline to Ensure Compliance—Class Justice"

As part of the authoritarian state crisis response, more and more people are being sentenced to prison. These poor wretches "gladly" end up inside for purportedly or actually wanting their slice of the pie. Those who allegedly or actually receive a few euros "unjustly" from the job centre or who shout the "wrong" slogan at a demonstration are sentenced by a legal system that functions in the interest of those in power. The rich and powerful, however, those involved in the CumEx* scandal, for instance—the capitalists, billionaires, and politicians who skimmed off millions—go unpunished.

The authoritarian state response to the crisis is to prioritize militarization both at home—granting more powers to the police and secret services—and abroad. This means that huge sums of money are spent on the

* A tax fraud scam; see https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/CumEx-Files.

police, the military, the arms industry, and wars. By contrast, less and less goes to those affected by poverty or in any kind of need—a massive process of redistribution from the bottom to the top. The ruling class's crisis management is aimed at revitalizing the "national community,"* while forcing the masses to "tighten their belts." That is how they refer to the impoverishment and social decay caused by their policies. That is also how they refer to whittling away at the right to asylum to the point of nonexistence, with the right to live in the metropole only available to those whom capital can exploit.

Two stabbings—in Solingen and Mannheim—were enough to justify a comprehensive expansion of policing, increased border controls, further steps toward abolishing the right to asylum, and mass deportations. Three hundred and sixty femicides in 2023, on the other hand, did not move those in power to do anything. Today, the Muslim population and refugees are an enemy manufactured to meet the needs of those at the top and are instrumentalized to construct a "national community." By claiming that Muslims and refugees are the source of the existing problems, those in power divide people, channel the discontent of broad sections of the population, and conceal the fact that it is they themselves and capitalism that are the cause of the fundamental problems.

These bogeyman images can be used to justify authoritarian and repressive policies and to establish a broad consensus for them. This is particularly effective when no relevant social revolutionary anti-capitalist left exists. The common ground that the neo-fascist right shares with the entire bourgeois spectrum is clear.

The great problems facing humanity—environmental destruction that threatens the conditions necessary for life, nationalism, war, and poverty—cannot be addressed effectively under capitalism. Anti-fascism must be anti-capitalist, or it is pointless.

The rise of the radical right across Europe is an expression of the

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* The term used, Volksgemeinschaft, can be translated as "people's community," "national community," or "racial community." While the term itself predates the Third Reich, it came to be closely associated with and heavily promoted by the Nazis.

ongoing and deepening crisis of capitalism, and the right-wing parties that are being integrated into ruling circles in more and more countries in the EU—Italy, Netherlands, Austria, France, and at the EU level itself—are gaining the support of a section of the population that has been left behind, as well as those who fear social decline, with the offer of bogus solutions that never call capitalism into question. The European elites and the right-wing parties have long had a programme to deal with the crisis: an authoritarian state targeting those who do not comply; dismantling the welfare state; a massive arms build-up, increasing the capacity to wage war; arming the police and expanding their powers, including increased police and secret service social control; nationalism; scapegoating migrants for the crisis and carrying out mass deportations.

All of the neo-fascist parties and so-called centrists in Germany—from the AfD to the Greens—share this view. It is delusional to hope that neo-fascist racism and the neo-fascist vision of the "German national community" can be countered by a bourgeoisie that shares this racism and has the same vision. The vision of the AfD and other European right-wing parties has long been the consensus of those in power and will determine their orientation in the future.

Humanity's biggest problems—life-threatening environmental destruction, war, and poverty—cannot be addressed effectively under capitalism. The present far-reaching crisis is the catalyst for all this and is driving the world to the brink of military, nuclear, and climate catastrophe. The solution can only be found in an anti-capitalist organization of humanity that is free of domination and capitalism's need for incessant growth. As such, the radicalization of the state and society that has emerged with the crisis can only be countered by a search for a path to alternative systems.

Addressing social issues, resisting war and militarization both domestically and internationally, resisting the environmental destruction of the planet that results from capitalism, and organizing international solidarity are necessary elements if we are to move forward.

In the West's resistance to the threat to its global hegemony, the ruling class is relying on militarization and is planning for war on the scale of a World War III.

We have arrived at the age of the increasingly authoritarian state. This is undoubtedly a perilous situation. However, it also speaks to the increased instability of capitalism. In its insatiable hunger for profit, capitalism requires opportunities for accumulation, which are becoming increasingly hard to find. Capitalism now lurches from crisis to crisis.

This is the age of wars, social upheaval, and a reactionary reversion to Volk and Nation. But this also suggests that those in power might be losing their grip on society, and the question arises: *What is to be done?* Will a class struggle develop in the future that questions and resists the conditions of exploitation and oppression through a collective process?

In an age of social and economic decline, increasing military power struggles, and the irreversible environmental destruction of the planet, the question of how change can be achieved is more vital and pertinent than ever before.

"Coming Full Circle"

Revolutionary concepts from history have failed to provide the answers for overcoming capitalism. Nonetheless, while the conditions have changed, we face the same basic questions.

"The State Relies on Division"
"Illegality, Solidarity, and 'Terrorists'"

We have met many people in our decades underground—friends, allies, neighbours, my fellow residents at the caravan park, and many others. I lived for many years with people who didn't know my history. When you are underground, it is impossible to talk about your own illegality. Please forgive me for that.

Our time together ended with repression. Caravan park and house searches: local war simulations—something I never wanted, but, in the end, it was beyond my control. Revolutionary struggles and struggles for freedom are followed by repression—that is how it will be until the struggle

for freedom triumphs over injustice. We are part of the history of worldwide rebellions that have always arisen in response to domination and slavery—for as long as the evils of patriarchy, capitalism, and colonialism have plagued humanity. From this perspective, the responsibility for repression lies with the ruling class and no one else—repression is an instrument of domination. As I see it—and this would be our perspective—there is only one possible response: solidarity.

Unite against the repression Daniela currently faces!

Build a public response!

Act in solidarity!

We were and are the same people whom so many of you got to know during our long years underground. Resisting violent conditions—patriarchal violence, poverty, and racism—among many other things, was part of our encounters and friendships with people during this period and are part of my life and our lives. Much of what we did with others in our decades underground, the paths we walked with others, speaks to the search for a liberated reality and a life of solidarity beyond the violence of capitalism. Our connection with others during this period was a reflection of our reality—of what and who we are.

Those in power have a version of history regarding fundamental resistance to the capitalist system: crime, violence, and terror. The image created is intended to obscure reality and conceal the fact that it is the structural violence of the system that is humanity's biggest problem. The manufactured image of the "terrorist" is meant to depoliticize the history of resistance to the violence of capitalist conditions, to sow divisions, and to obscure the fact that state violence and the violent conditions of the capitalist system are the only real terror faced by many people the world over.

> Peace to the huts! War to the palaces!
> (Georg Büchner, 1834)

Anyone who moves from protest to resistance will be painted as a "terrorist." Countless stories of rebellion and resistance attest to this: Klaus Störtebecker, Thomas Müntzer, Georg Büchner; August Reinsdorf, the

social revolutionary anarchist insurgent who took action against the reactionary German Empire and was executed in 1885; Karl Plättner, the council communist critic of the KPD, Red Aid activist, the first author to imagine an urban guerrilla, and a militant who participated in the workers' uprising of the 1920s; Olga Benario, Georg Elser, Phoolan Devi, Durruti, Che Guevara, Angela Davis, Ulrike Meinhof, Sigurd Debus, Patrice Lumumba, Nelson Mandela, Assata Shakur, Sakine Cansiz, Mumia Abu Jamal.

Whether it is the Paris Commune or the Black Jacobins—the people enslaved by European colonialism who fought for liberation in Haiti in the anti-colonial revolution from 1791 onward; the partisans in numerous European countries who resisted Nazi fascism or the CNT anarchists in Spain who resisted military dictatorship; the revolutionary struggle of the Black Panthers, the 2nd of June Movement, Rote Zora, or the ANC's resistance against apartheid—they were all "terrorists" according to the propaganda of those in power.

Terror has nothing to do with us, but it has a lot to do with those in power and with the capitalist system.

The term "terror" has nothing to do with revolutionary counterviolence, which throughout history has been the revolutionary self-defence of the liberation movements, and which is directed exclusively and specifically against those in power. Terror describes the indiscriminate violence used to secure and enforce domination. An accurate use of the term "terrorists" in bourgeois society would, among other things, serve as an admission of guilt and a description of those in power, rather than as the manipulative term it is at present.

Today, the term "terrorist" is, first and foremost, an instrument of domination, exploitation, repression, of the Frontex regime,* class justice, and the prison system; of hunger, wars, coups, and military dictatorships directed from the capitalist centres, for which every German federal government historically shares responsibility—including for the countless millions killed. Terror has nothing to do with us but a lot to do with them and their system.

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* Frontex is the European border patrol and coast guard tasked with preventing migrants from entering the EU.

"Solidarity Knows No Borders"

In a situation where we were weak, the solidarity demonstration in March in Berlin calling for Daniela's freedom and expressing solidarity with those of us underground, against the caravan park and house searches, and against the scaremongering and all the state terror, meant a lot and gave us strength, as did the solidarity expressed at the prison in Vechta, the graffiti on the walls, and the solidarity rallies in various European countries.

For more than three decades, we were able to organize ourselves collectively and elude the outcome prescribed for us by bourgeois society, which was simply that we be locked up or shot. We were able to find ways to lead lives that, with all their ups and downs, allowed for a social reality beyond the capitalist norm of alienation, isolation, and exploitation. No one can take that away from us. It will remain part of the history written from below—our solidarity with one another—with those who have rebelled, are rebelling, or will rebel against this system yesterday, today, or tomorrow.

Despite the grim reality of Daniela's circumstances—being locked in a prison cell day in and day out—one thing is clear: they may have some of the laws that they have created on their side, but they have no legitimacy. The historical attempts of countless people over many centuries to overcome these conditions—to resist the violence of those who want everything to remain as it is, who declare human freedom and liberation to be unacceptable and injustice to be the way things should be—were and are entirely legitimate.

The judiciary of the Nazi-successor state, which almost never convicted Nazis from the fascist period, is now planning years of show trials against Daniela, in which she is to be sentenced as a representative of the history of fundamental opposition and locked away in prison for many years. The state is focusing on deterrence, targeting not only Daniela but all those who fail to comply, who do not accept the idea that humanity has no alternative but capitalism and, with it, the destruction of the planet. This farce is of concern to everyone who rejects capitalism as the end of history—regardless of their own history or perspective.

"Act in Solidarity"

Making the impossible possible, as Che Guevara put it, is of vital significance to humanity today: learning to rethink the systemic alternative in collective processes of resistance to the abyss we risk tumbling into at the "turn of an era," both for ourselves and in all our relations, and to fight for it collectively and internationally, breaking through the logic of those in power, the idea that "there is no alternative" to capitalism. The historical window for epochal change—capitalism's systemic and social decay—is opening ever wider. A new age of barbarism is lurking in the continuing intensification of conditions. Only the struggles of a social revolutionary countermovement can provide an alternative.

"Socialism or barbarism," as Rosa Luxemburg predicted in 1919, accurately foreseeing historical reality: after World War I and the global economic crisis of the time, a window opened for the decline of capitalism and the rise of revolution. From 1918 to 1923, the workers' movement, revolutionary feminists, anarchists, and communists in Germany attempted to carry out a socialist revolution. At the same time, a large part of humanity was rising up in revolt on five continents. In Germany, the insurgent workers' movement failed in its attempt to overcome capitalism. Success would have been the only way to avert the subsequent era of barbarism. When the attempt at socialist revolution was crushed, all that remained was capitalism, which in Germany took the form of Nazi fascism and led to World War II and Auschwitz.

With today's profound capitalist crisis and worldwide epochal changes, we are accelerating toward a point where a historical "either or" "socialism or barbarism" moment with a clear direction could arise once again. The fixation on fascist bourgeois capitalist parties will not prevent the growing authoritarianism and war-mongering of the German crisis state and the EU. There is nothing worth saving. Only a transformative movement from below for the abolition of capitalism can prevent such a development.

Today, the social-revolutionary alternative—to the increasing fascist drift of the capitalist system, which is spreading poverty even in the metropole, to the impending global war, and to the environmental destruction of the planet—would be a socialism that learns from the mistakes of the past,

thereby providing an opportunity to build a free society: a world based on collectivity, freedom from patriarchy, exploitation, domination, and nationalism, and the survival of the natural world.

Such a world will not be possible without a diverse and creative militant movement that makes its presence felt in the nascent and rapidly growing social struggles that are responding to the accelerating crisis. This would require rebuilding the capacity for action of an anti-capitalist, social revolutionary, and internationalist left, one capable of acting in a way that transcends borders. Sleeping Beauty's slumber must end. The time has come—now—to act.

Solidarity with Daniela!

Solidarity with the comrades in exile, with all those in hiding, and with the prisoners from the struggles of the antifa, of the resistance, of the Kurdish and Turkish comrades, of the climate movement, and of all other struggles for freedom worldwide!

Demanding Daniela's immediate release is the right thing to do.

On February 26, 2024, German police arrested Daniela Klette, who had been living as a fugitive for decades, accused of being a member of the Red Army Faction. Before her capture, a warning was apparently sent to Burkhard Garweg, who had been similarly living as a fugitive and accused of being a former RAF member. He alluded capture. Here we present a letter from Daniela written from Vechta prison and released in early 2025, and a longer open letter by Martin (the name Burkhard had been living under) released from the underground in late 2024.